?: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

their hair in the middle, braided each side and rolled the braids up to the ear and tied them in knots at the sides of the head. After puberty adult hair dress was assumed.

After about eighteen years of age a man combed and dressed his own hair until married. Subsequent to marriage that task became one of his wife's duties.

In the manufacture of a comb (Plate 2, Figure E) several slender sharpened sticks of hardwood were first prepared. Each was about four inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter. These formed the teeth of the comb. They were bound side by side in a fan shape by twining with Indian hemp cord in two courses. One course, at the base of the comb, was very tightly woven. The other course, about midway of the teeth, was of coarser cord and served to spread the teeth apart.

Combs were not worn in the hair.

CARE OF THE BODY

From early infancy the development of the body was carefully attended with an eye to achieving strength, hardihood and a pleasing appearance. The ideal male was tall, slim and light complexioned; the desirable female type of medium stature and build, also light in complexion and long haired. A mother faithfully massaged the muscles of a baby to insure strength and length of limb, and rubbed the nose to keep it straight and the chin to keep it short. Each morning and evening the child was bathed in water containing boiled roots called kəmɬawiya'kɬ'n.

Head flattening was not practiced. In fact, a flat forehead was considered ugly and considerable efforts were directed at keeping the head of the child round during the formative period. Inner bark of the sagebrush, finely shredded, was used as a pillow in the cradle.

When young girls began to braid their hair it was customary to bind fairly heavy stones to the bottoms of the braids in order that the hair might grow very long. Boys and girls washed their hair at least once each day, adults slightly less often. A shampoo was usually used. The object was seldom cleansing, but rather to aid the hair in its growth. The root of the sunflower, *Helianthus annus* L., (wuywaɣkáʔpˢ, "frog plant"), was cleaned and macerated to make the shampoo.

Children were required to bathe immediately upon arising each morning, summer and winter. Boys had regular places on the river where they went for their morning plunge; girls used others. The primary object of this procedure again was not cleansing, but in this case fortification and the building up of resistant power.

The bathing of adults was almost exclusively in connection with the use of the sweat lodge. After each session in the lodge a quick plunge was made into a stream or lake. Sweat lodges were always built adjacent to some body of water. The plunge was indulged in for its invigorating effect after the enervating steam bath. The bath itself must be reckoned as the most important mode of caring

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[6]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 961 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

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[6] See pages 113-14.

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Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
852 real social position. His mother remained in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

●855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
861 further duties, and a somewhat more formal education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of the religious life they were definitely ex-
[881] cluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits aban-
885 doned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
761 sition, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.' 1/

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[853]

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day.

855 ● 857

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.' 1/

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

1/ [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 107(B)

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games 857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to 861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, [538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e). ½

●855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made.
[856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age then in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 Most of the informants denied that
314 there was any intention of flattening the
854 head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpI'llakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 A flat stone or other hard substance
854 was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord was sew-
854 ed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

½ [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of aEsan'I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong. 854 846

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks. 854

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material."

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load. 855.

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All 462

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22 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

p.123(A)

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

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TWINS.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

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191*

BABY CARRIERS.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wicker-work were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

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HEAD DEFORMATION.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 19, a Spokan carrier.

[113]

7rTeit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

304 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some
856 of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tighten-
*191 ing of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those
*191 of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne.
595 A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying
*191 dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead
*191 had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters
[604] were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women
148 had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were
*191 allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all
*191 the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.

766 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange
*191 country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-